

Peace News

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Interview with Makarios

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP — Page 5

SAFETY THROUGH ARMS AN ILLUSION

—Russell

THE LORD MAYOR AND THE PACIFISTS

"Remember Hiroshima"

Peace News Reporter

"YOU represent a worthy object. You've a tremendous job to do and I wish you every success."

With these words the Lord Mayor of Leeds, Alderman Jessop, who was accompanied by the Lady Mayoress, opened the Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union last week.

On such a glorious spring day, nature said "live," man said "die."

"Therefore," said the Lord Mayor, "it is up to all men of goodwill to do what they can to stop the process of mutual destruction."

"It is up to us to do what we can to bring about relations between the nations of the world so that man shall stop destroying himself."

It was for that reason, he said, that he had chosen for his official Christmas cards a photograph of the civic war memorial, with the addition of the words "These died that we might live in peace." His message did not suit some who thought that he was being cynical, but he believed that peace was not only the central message of Christmas but the urgent need of the moment.

"Though all want peace, there are too many ready to go to war when their passions are stirred."

"WE WANT PEACE"

He wished that people would use their

From Margaret Tims

AN enthusiastic audience filled Friends House, London, on April 30 to protest against British H-tests at a meeting called by the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests. The Chairman was Col. Geoffrey Taylor, scientific adviser to the Liberal Party. The five speakers of

differing viewpoints reached the unanimous conclusion that the tests must be stopped.

Frank Beswick, MP, said one of the political excuses for the tests was to make us independent of the USA. But our economy was so strained by making nuclear weapons that we could not afford the missiles to deliver them and had just agreed to take them from America, thus making us more dependent on her than ever.

Professor J. Rotblat said conflicting statements by scientists on the dangers of tests

had confused the public. But all scientists were agreed that some genetic damage is done by even the smallest doses of external radiation: the only question was how much constituted a "danger," and this was a moral rather than a scientific evaluation.

MISSILES

Evidence of injury by internal radiation, through the concentration of Strontium 90 in bone, was still inconclusive, but it might be that even the smallest doses would cause some cases of cancer or leukaemia.

It was prudent to accept the most pessimistic estimate, and the Atomic Scientists' Association calculated that up to the autumn of last year 50,000 people may have been affected. Since then Russian tests have released a large amount of radio-activity which may cause further damage.

Reginald Reynolds said he believed in direct action and if the Japanese Government had granted permission he would be in the Pacific now.

Shock-tactics were needed to stop the tests, even if these were technically illegal.

Could anything be more contrary to international and divine law than for certain Governments to pollute the air and poison the sea?

MORAL GESTURE

Wayland Young put the case of the babies to be born blind or deformed or imbecile and the future victims of cancer and leukaemia, who would never know if their ills were from natural causes or as a result of nuclear tests.

Their reaction would inevitably be to blame the Government and society which permitted these things, and would weaken

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TO MARCH THROUGH LONDON IN SILENCE

Peace News Reporter

PLANS are being completed for a silent march of women on May 12 from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square, London, in protest against the hydrogen bomb tests. The march is being sponsored by the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

All the Women's Co-operative Guilds in London, individuals, and organisations affiliated to the Movement for Colonial Freedom, and a number of women's professional organisations have been circulated with a call to join the march.

The letter reads: "In view of the special danger to children likely to result from the continuation of H-bomb tests, the National Council is calling on women supporters to

Lionel Penrose, geneticist and Hon. Treasurer of the War Resisters' International.

In the course of his broadcast Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that a good deal of the agitation against British H-bomb tests came from Communist sources "that want to prevent Britain emerging as a third nuclear power."

Not Communist

"It is up to us to do what we can to bring about relations between the nations of the worlds so that man shall stop destroying himself."

It was for that reason, he said, that he had chosen for his official Christmas cards a photograph of the civic war memorial, with the addition of the words "These died that we might live in peace." His message did not suit some who thought that he was being cynical, but he believed that peace was not only the central message of Christmas but the urgent need of the moment.

"Though all want peace, there are too many ready to go to war when their passions are stirred."

"WE WANT PEACE"

He wished that people would use their imagination and, by remembering the damage which a "baby" bomb did at Hiroshima, realise what would happen in Leeds or London, New York or Moscow if H-bombs were dropped.

"I'm convinced that if an opinion poll were taken of the common people it would be 'We want peace.' The will of the people is 'We want peace.'"

He regarded it as his duty to do all that he could in the conduct of his office as Lord Mayor to carry out the will of the people. He regretted that he could not stay longer at the meeting; he had several other engagements to fulfil.

"I have no doubt in my own mind that none of them are of so much importance as this meeting which represents such a worthy object. I wish you every success and hope that your influence will go throughout the world."

ENCOURAGEMENT

From the chair, Michael Tippett, the British composer, said that it was a rare experience to find a leading civic personage ready to speak out in this way and to offer encouragement.

"We have needed encouragement, not only because we are small in numbers but because we are aware of our own deficiency in temperament and mind."

Because of the Lord Mayor's words of encouragement and hope, the Peace Pledge Union were glad that they had come to Leeds for their meeting.

After the meeting had confirmed last year's amendment to the constitution and deferred a decision to elect a President the reports of the previous year's work were brought under review.

The PPU Executive's support for calls

★ ON BACK PAGE

LONDON IN SILENCE

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The letter reads: "In view of the special danger to children likely to result from the continuation of H-bomb tests, the National Council is calling on women supporters to join us in a march of protest against H-bomb tests."

"Our purpose"

"We consider this would be one of the most effective ways and we suggest that the march should be a silent and dignified protest with banners to express our purpose. Please assemble at Hyde Park, Speakers Corner, at 3.15. The march will move from Marble Arch at 3.30, via Park Lane, Piccadilly and Haymarket to Trafalgar Square. A short meeting is planned at the Square."

It is reported that a delegation of women from Bath plan to come to London to join the march.

Plans for a day and night vigil against the H-tests, at 10 Downing Street, are being considered by some interested persons.

WOMEN GIVE THEIR ANSWER

THE BBC "Woman's Hour" programme announced on Tuesday that letters were pouring in showing that the women of Britain disagreed with Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the Foreign Secretary, when, on Monday, he spoke in favour of the H-bomb test. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's broadcast was the third in a series of BBC interviews on this subject. Earlier interviews were with Professor Rotblat, of the Atomic Scientists' Association, and Professor

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, has said that he will offer asylum to any African who considers himself persecuted by colonial authorities.

Lionel Penrose, geneticist and Hon. Treasurer of the War Resisters' International.

In the course of his broadcast Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that a good deal of the agitation against British H-bomb tests came from Communist sources "that want to prevent Britain emerging as a third nuclear power."

Not Communist

On Tuesday evening the following statement was given to the Press Association by Arthur Goss, Chairman of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests; J. Allen Skinner, Secretary of the Emergency Committee for Direct Action against Nuclear War and Hugh Brock, Editor of Peace News:

"As representatives of those who helped to voice the widespread opposition in Britain against the forthcoming H-bomb tests, we declare Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's suggestion that the opposition is Communist inspired to be entirely false.

"Sponsors of the National Council and the Emergency Committee include such well-known figures as Earl Russell, Dr. Soper, Professor Barbara Wootton and E. M. Forster, while Peace News has long been known as a newspaper without any links with the Communist or any other political party."

U.S. Quakers support Dr. Schweitzer

A LETTER supporting Dr. Schweitzer's H-test appeal has been sent to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee by the American Friends Service Committee, the Quaker body which was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947 jointly with the British Friends Service Council.

The AFSC said, according to The Times (London), that it welcomed "the growing public opinion that presses Governments to agree on discontinuance" and "besides the biological dangers which Dr. Schweitzer mentioned we would emphasise the moral reasons which condemn both war and the preparations for it."

in the Pacific now.

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MORAL GESTURE

Wayland Young put the case of the babies to be born blind or deformed or imbecile and the future victims of cancer and leukaemia, who would never know if their ills were from natural causes or as a result of nuclear tests.

Their reaction would inevitably be to blame the Government and society which permitted these things, and would weaken the very basis of the society we wished to defend.

A moral gesture by Britain now would gain the support of all nations which have not got as far as we have in the nuclear arms race.

Would history be able to say that British initiative had put an end to that race?

Dr. Donald Soper appealed to the conscience of Christian civilisation and to all those non-Christians who saw in such filthy methods an affront to the dignity and status of human beings. The whole future of the world may depend on the decision this country takes.

THE POPE

Barbara Castle, MP, referring to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's broadcast on Woman's Hour, wondered if he thought he was talking on Children's Hour? He alleged that anxieties over the tests came from people with fellow-travelling tendencies. Was he calling the Pope and Schweitzer fellow-travellers?

She called on women to use not only their hearts but their heads and feet, and to join the protest march to Trafalgar Square on May 12.

● ON BACK PAGE

H-test postponed?

Dr. Matsushita, the Japanese Premier's special envoy said, on his return to Tokio on Monday, that he thought the question of the H-bomb tests should be brought before the International Court of Justice by the United Nations General Assembly. Japan must assume leadership in future international efforts to secure abolition of nuclear weapons. His "direct impression" was that the British test would be postponed.

France expels army resisters

NEARLY a dozen Jehovah's Witnesses, all sons of emigrant Polish miners, have been expelled from France for their steadfast refusal to become soldiers.

In 1955, the French Government did not use this weapon against army resisters, but last year proceedings were begun against Alfred Zielinski and Ruhard Drozan, both still serving prison sentences.

These sincere young men became citizens of France, where they were born, upon application of the parents when each youth reached the age of 16. After repeated prison sentences the resisters were classified as "incorrigible," and deportation proceedings begun. It was not taken into account that the parents were encouraged to settle in France, nor that the boys are law-abiding citizens in other respects.

In referring to this practice in a public letter, Henri Sellier wrote that it "treads underfoot all the sacred values of civilisation. The root of these atrocities is description itself."

—From "The War Resister."

Youth programme for racial harmony

From TOM WARDLE

A TEN-POINT youth programme for racial harmony was drawn up at a Unitarian Young People's League inter-racial conference in Derbyshire recently.

One of the features of the conference was a universalist service in which people of all faiths took part. In a series of affirmations, young people from various parts of the world declared their readiness to work together for peace.

Their sentiments were expressed by a young Jamaican who said:

"The youth of the colonies look in friendship to those who were their enemies. They ask that the youth of the world may bear one another's burdens, sharing present unhappiness and striving that they might the better share future harmony and gladness."

Further conferences of the same type are planned for the near future. Information may be obtained from Keith Noble, 27 Gladstone Rd., Altrincham, Cheshire.

Conflict between republicans and
monarchists lies behind the

CRISIS IN JORDAN

By Brijen Gupta

The resignation of Dr. Khalidi's Government in Jordan in which Suleiman Nabulsi was the Foreign Minister was announced on April 25, after this article had been written. Brijen Gupta's analysis of the background to the unrest in Jordan remains, however, unaffected by this change.

THE crisis in Jordan has been interpreted by the Western Press as a tug-of-war between the pro-Soviet political forces led by Suleiman Nabulsi and Abdullah Rimawi, and the pro-Atlantic forces led by King Hussein and his adviser, Bahjatbeg Talhuni. We shall be nearer the truth in considering the crisis as a conflict between the republicans and the monarchists.

The National Socialist Party of former Premier Nabulsi pays merely lip service to the concept of "constitutional monarchy". One of its leaders told me last summer, "The King will soon have to take an indefinite leave of absence from Jordan." The Baath Socialist Resurrectionist Party of Abdullah Rimawi, on the other hand is staunchly republican, and for years failed to secure legal recognition in Jordan because of its refusal to commit itself to the concept of constitutional monarchy.

SOCIALIST PARTIES

The Jordanian elections last October, in which these two socialist parties emerged as the most popular, commanding between them the largest bloc of seats in the Parliament, served a notice to the monarchy—and incidentally to the Western imperialists and Israel.

Israel was so frightened last October by the return of socialists to power in Jordan, that her Cabinet decided to launch a war against Jordan. We owe this information to the courageous confession of Premier Ben Gurion, who vetoed this decision and decided to launch the attack against Egypt.

And we also know that the Eden Government, which welcomed reaction at home and abroad, feeling in advance the strength of the socialist groupings in Jordan, had on the eve of the elections tried to bring the Iraqi troops to occupy Jordan. It knew well in advance that with the return of the socialists to power, the Anglo-Jordanian alliance would pass from the realm of international politics to that of history.

But it was the monarchy that stood in the greatest danger of all at the hands of a left-of-centre Government. The Israeli invasion of Egypt gave the monarchy a little respite, for the attention of all the Arab Governments was taken away from the domestic to the foreign affairs.

By his unconstitutional dismissal of the Nabulsi Cabinet he has disillusioned all such Liberals who had some faith in a constitutional monarchy.

The tribal leaders still appear loyal to him, but the tribal community is only one third of the Jordanian population. In the army, the group of "free officers" is strongly influenced by the Baath ideology, and if it were not for the presence of a few monarchists in the top echelons of the army, Hussein might well have lost both his head and his throne in the last few weeks.

ISRAELI PROBLEM

Thirdly, the King is trying to divert the attention of the masses from the domestic problems (which involve the fate of the throne) to the Israeli problem, as is evident from his two broadcasts. A war with Israel, in which the Jordanians are most likely to be defeated, would disgrace the republican forces in Jordan. Israel would invade and then withdraw which would come as a blessing to the monarchy. There is evidence that the French Foreign Office is inciting Israel to venture a war with Jordan, and it would not be a surprise if the British Foreign Office were to be similarly advising the Nuri Said regime to send its forces in Jordan to "help" the King out.

Fourthly, the King's own palace is in disorder. The Queen is reported to be favouring the republican forces and advising the King to abdicate with grace. She has lost to the Queen Mother who believes in an alliance with Iraq and Britain. The Queen has been living in Cairo for some length of time.

OUTCOME OF EVENTS

The King has not yet lost. Between an apparent defeat and an acceptance of

African in S. Rhodesia: a tragic figure

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

PEOPLE think that because there is "self-government" in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland that all is well and there is no colour-bar. "but this is not true and the position in Rhodesia is more insidious than in the Union of South Africa," declared Mrs. Grace Coleman in London last Friday. Mrs. Coleman, creator of the Little Theatre of Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, was speaking at Dick Sheppard House at a meeting chaired by Sybil Morrison.

AFRICAN'S LAND

"Do not forget Southern Rhodesia," she said, and do not think "everything in the garden is lovely. Those who are interested ought to watch Sir Roy Welensky [Prime Minister of Rhodesia and Nyasaland], he is a very dangerous person . . ."

"The African in Southern Rhodesia is a very unhappy person and a very tragic figure," she said. "His position is a very unhappy one.

"He is a man without anchorage. We have taken his land. Taking the land from an African is a very serious thing. It is not bought acres. It is his life. He is attached to it."

She described the effects including delinquency of the white man's actions. The African there, she said, "is a man with nothing to hold and grip him. We have taken away from him the things that counted in his life: his morality, his land, his religion."

Describing the Southern Rhodesian colour-bar she said that in Bulawayo "there is no theatre, no hall, no restaurant [the educated African] can enter."

Africans there cannot legally join a trade union, although there is legislation pending to allow him to join a European trade union, in which the African fears his voice will not be heard.

COLOUR BAR

The coloureds keep aloof from the Africans as the whites do from both groups. "So long as we have a colour-bar it is insincere to talk about 'partnership,'" she declared.

The Roman Catholics have no colour-bar, she said, and conditions in the Anglican Church are greatly improved under a new Bishop, but even there "no African would

gether for peace.
Their sentiments were expressed by a young Jamaican who said:

"The youth of the colonies look in friendship to those who were their enemies. They ask that the youth of the world may bear one another's burdens, sharing present unhappiness and striving that they might the better share future harmony and gladness."

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And we also know that the Eden Government, which welcomed reaction at home and abroad, feeling in advance the strength of the socialist groupings in Jordan, had on the eve of the elections tried to bring the Iraqi troops to occupy Jordan. It knew well in advance that with the return of the socialists to power, the Anglo-Jordanian alliance would pass from the realm of international politics to that of history.

But it was the monarchy that stood in the greatest danger of all at the hands of a left-of-centre Government. The Israeli invasion of Egypt gave the monarchy a little respite, for the attention of all the Arab Governments was taken away from the domestic to the foreign affairs.

But as soon as the invasion was halted, Premier Nabulsi, in mid-December declared that Jordan could not exist forever as an artificial State. He recommended a unification with Syria or Egypt or both.

Nabulsi proved to be as good as his word. Within a few weeks he entered into an agreement with Syria to fuse the diplomatic services of the two countries—Syria was henceforth to represent Jordan in the various capitals except a few major ones.

REPUBLICAN IDEALS

Negotiations for an economic union, with a common currency, were in progress when the King decided to strike and dismiss the left-of-centre Government. The business groups decided to support the monarchy, for an economic union with Syria would have meant god-bye to the sterling bloc!

It is against this background that the events of the last few weeks in Jordan should be analysed.

Firstly, the King has become a victim of the tide of the Arab nationalism with which he wanted to swim. He underestimated the current of republican ideas among the Jordanian masses who on the one hand are told of Jordan's poverty and on the other are given to witness the luxury of the Palace. He backed the Arab unity because he felt that the unity meant a confederation of various Arab States, in which he would be able to keep Jordan as his personal fief. It has been only recently that he has realised that the only kind of federation acceptable to Egypt and Syria would be one based on republican ideals.

Secondly, the King has lost the support of the masses, specially the middle classes, the workers and the peasants.

blessing to the monarchy. There is evidence that the French Foreign Office is inciting Israel to venture a war with Jordan, and it would not be a surprise if the British Foreign Office were to be similarly advising the Nuri Said regime to send its forces in Jordan to "help" the King out.

Fourthly, the King's own palace is in disorder. The Queen is reported to be favouring the republican forces and advising the King to abdicate with grace. She has lost to the Queen Mother who believes in an alliance with Iraq and Britain. The Queen has been living in Cairo for some length of time.

OUTCOME OF EVENTS

The King has not yet lost. Between an apparent defeat and an acceptance of defeat, he has placed Suleiman Nabulsi, as the Foreign Minister in a conservative Government. Nabulsi, on the other hand, seems to have accepted the appointment not because he thinks the present Government can work but because there is a necessity for a man to be inside the ring to watch the manœuvres of the monarchists and at least keep the country from falling a prey either to Israel or to Anglo-French diplomacy.

The outcome of the events in Jordan is evident. It is up to the King either to accept the verdict of the masses or to force a showdown which will bring violence in the Middle East. If violence comes it would be the King who would be responsible for it, and not the socialists, who because of their neutralist policy have been called pro-Communists.

Briefly

The Government of Nyasaland has declared as seditious literature work of the Jehovah Witnesses, Communist publications, items published in London by the Independent Publishing Co., Contemporary Issues, Thames Publications, "Indian Views," all publications of the Indo-African Literature Society of Mombasa, all publications of the World Federation of Trade Unions, The Gold Coast Revolution, by George Padmore, writings of Sri Aurobindo, etc.

★
From Hamburg, Hans-Konrad Tempel reports that over 100 attending a meeting of the local War Resisters' International group were recently "very impressed" by a talk by Gene Sharp, Peace News Assistant Editor. "For years there has not been such applause at a monthly meeting," Tempel writes.

"there is no theatre, no hall, no restaurant [the educated African] can enter."

Africans there cannot legally join a trade union, although there is legislation pending to allow him to join a European trade union, in which the African fears his voice will not be heard.

COLOUR BAR

The coloureds keep aloof from the Africans as the whites do from both groups. "So long as we have a colour-bar it is insincere to talk about 'partnership,'" she declared.

The Roman Catholics have no colour-bar, she said, and conditions in the Anglican Church are greatly improved under a new Bishop, but even there "no African would be allowed to go to communion with a European."

Mrs. Coleman reported "there are thousands of Africans in Rhodesia wearing Gandhi's bandage and when there was a railway strike it commenced with non-violent resistance until the police commenced breaking it up and attacking the strikers."

It is possible that "serious trouble" may start in the Copper Belt—the copper mines are owned by US capitalists—and in Nyasaland the African is becoming very bitter and may soon be ready for violence, she warned.

These were conditions under Federation.

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FRIENDS OF HOPIS URGED TO ACT

A LETTER from the League of North American Indians (Wemikwachken Keewaykenos) signed by Craig (Mohawk), N. D. Lantz (Seneca), and Osapana (Powhatan) has urged friends of the Hopi Indians to use "the most effective means" to fight the Bills now pending in the US Congress to establish firmly the US Government's authority over the "Peaceful People." In addition to Senate Bill 692, reported in PN, April 12, a twin Bill (H.R. 3789) has also been introduced in the House of Representatives. The Bills provide that Hopi lands (described in the Executive Order of December 16, 1882) "are hereby declared to be held by the United States in trust for the Indians who are entitled to be thereon pursuant to such executive order."

SOVEREIGN

The Bills also provide for US federal courts to make decisions on the conflicting claims of the Hopis and the Navajos who, in violation of a treaty with the US have moved on to Hopi land.

The Hopis have never signed a treaty with, fought a war against, or been conquered by the US Government. Therefore they maintain they are morally and legally sovereign and not subject to the control of the US Government.

They believe their pacifist way of life is far better than the white man's war-making civilisation.

Traditional Hopi leaders believe that the real reason the US Indian Bureau wants the federal courts to have authority over the border lands between the Hopis and the Navajos is to be able to open up these lands for oil and uranium development—meaning for war purposes. The Hopis oppose this.

In a letter protesting against the Senate Bill, Dan Katchongva, a foremost advisor of the Hopis, told Senator Barry Goldwater:

"Because of our traditional and religious instructions we strongly protest against such a Bill, a Bill which we know will, if it becomes law, destroy our Hopi way of life, religion and land. It will surely destroy the land and life of the Navajo tribe.

"We see today many of our Indian Brothers who have lost their way of life and land

KOINONIA REPLIES TO TERRORISTS 'We are willing to die'

DAMAGING their own property and being dominated by the Communist Party are accusations that recently have been made against the pacifist people of Koinonia Farm, Americus, Georgia, by the Sumter County Grand Jury. Koinonia have denied these charges.

The pacifists have been the victims of pro-segregationists who have bombed, shot at, and set fire to their inter-racial community and farm in the US South. One person has been injured, but only slightly.

Koinonia, denying charges, stated that the people of that Christian community would be willing to die, if necessary, for their convictions, a newscast over radio station WSB, Atlanta, stated.

Clarence Jordan of Koinonia, is reported to have made an address to a human relations council in Macon, Georgia, denying the charges made by the Grand Jury. The WSB newscast, April 15, which reported it, quoted the charges made against Koinonia, but failed to quote Mr. Jordan's denials.

Several members of Koinonia and Wally Nelson, a guest for several weeks at the community, were called before the Grand Jury and grilled. Clarence Jordan was grilled one whole day.

"TRULY CHRISTIAN"

"It became evident that the Grand Jury was not trying to discover the perpetrators of the violence against the community," stated an observer. The Koinonia mailing list was photostatted by the court and the account book was read into the record of the proceedings despite protests which Clarence Jordan made.

The people of Koinonia were wrongfully accused of firing at their own home for publicity purposes.

The Americus and Sumter County Ministerial Association stated in a letter to all churches in Georgia that they

... WE ARE UNANIMOUS

THOUGH we do not know what it [the future] holds we are unanimous in conviction that we must continue to bear witness here in Sumter County, Georgia, to the way of life to which God has called us.

We cannot say that we are exactly easy, but we are not afraid.

There are signs of hope on the horizon as the forces of good will become increasingly conscious and vocal. We know that the things God has given us to uphold and preserve are eternal and must abide.

There is joy among us though there are at times evidences of fatigue and strain. In manifold ways God continues to multiply his grace toward us.

We are deeply concerned about the fear and bitterness that is searing the hearts of those who oppose us.

We are praying for them and asking God to free us from all ill-will and self-righteousness that we might be channels through which his redemptive love might flow.

—Koinonia Community, April 2, 1957.

believe Koinonia to be a truly Christian community.

A Friends of Koinonia Association has been organised recently in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, US. Clarence Jordan and Harry Atkinson, both of Koinonia, told the complete history of the persecution of the community, to that meeting on March 30.

Friends of Koinonia will act as a clearing house for all groups wishing to give aid to the community. Persons or groups wanting to help Koinonia can get further information by writing Koinonia Farm, Route 2, Americus, Georgia.

The need for keeping unarmed guards, additional office work for correspondence, and contacts for public relations has kept the community overloaded with work.

May 3, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

Dr. Schweitzer's call

MOST of Peace News had gone to press last week when, on Tuesday afternoon, we learned that the full text of Dr. Schweitzer's broadcast appeal would be available by the evening.

With the co-operation of our printers we were able to arrange the printing of a special supplement of Peace News and so get this important appeal out to all our readers at the earliest possible moment.

This involved us in heavy additional expenses which we only felt justified in incurring because of the knowledge that some of our readers would see that extra contributions were forthcoming to the Peace News Fund.

And so we are asking you to pass the hat round twice this week, please. Once for the Peace News Fund which has to find

£3,070 by Dec. 31

and then again to raise an extra £60 required for the supplement last week.

THE EDITOR

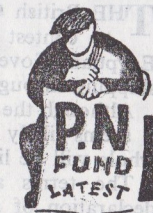
Contributions since April 12: £40 18s. 2d.

Total since January 1, 1957: £430 2s. 10d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: in remembrance of Edith A. Wood, £1; from C.B., USA, \$5.53; a family, London, W.1, 10s.; "a friend who reads my PN," 2s.; Anon, 10s.; from Hadleigh, £25; Logex, Dundee, £2.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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In Sweden they presented the captain with a spade AT THE CHANGING OF THE GUARD

THE new, rapidly-growing pacifist world citizens group in Sweden aims by 1960 to have enrolled 5,000 young men who will refuse military service.

Thirty-year-old Inge

Örbergsson, who founded

By GENE SHARP

upon to make preparations for such demonstrations and meetings.

Each week a public meeting is held in Stockholm. This is preceded by four hours

the federal courts are to have authority over the border lands between the Hopis and the Navajos is to be able to open up these lands for oil and uranium development—meaning for war purposes. The Hopis oppose this.

In a letter protesting against the Senate Bill, Dan Katchongva, a foremost advisor of the Hopis, told Senator Barry Goldwater:

"Because of our traditional and religious instructions we strongly protest against such a Bill, a Bill which we know will, if it becomes law, destroy our Hopi way of life, religion and land. It will surely destroy the land and life of the Navajo tribe.

"We see today many of our Indian Brothers who have lost their way of life and land and are now in far worse condition because their land has been taken away from them by force, promises of a better life, and by fraud on the part of the white man."

QUISLINGS

The Bill had been introduced without consulting the Hopi people, he declared. The puppet so-called Hopi Tribal Council was denounced as "created by the Indian Bureau, managed by the Indian Bureau, and supported by the Hopi Government employees and so-called Christian Hopis.

They do not, and cannot represent the true Hopi.

"We are not fighting the Navajo Tribe over this land... We are the rightful owners and we do not intend to ask a white man for a land that is already ours. We will not allow any Federal Court Settlement of our land. All the US Government has to do to settle this matter is to move the Navajos back to their own Treaty reservation in accordance with their Treaty provisions."

"Our Great Spirit" gave them the land and way of life, he wrote. "We strongly oppose testing of Army weapons on our land or leasing of our land by the Navajo Tribal Council," he declared.

A letter protesting against the Bill in the House of Representatives was sent to James A. Haley, Sub-committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives, in mid-March. It was signed by 34 traditional and religious leaders of Shungopavy Village, 39 people from Mushongnovi Village, and 83 religious and traditional leaders and people from Hotevilla Village. They expressed their "strong protest against a Bill, H.R. 3789, which a majority of our people do not want."

the proceedings despite protests which Clarence Jordan made.

The people of Koinonia were wrongfully accused of firing at their own home for publicity purposes.

The Americus and Sumter County Ministerial Association stated in a letter to all churches in Georgia that they

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Inge Oscarsson

Thirty-year-old Inge Oscarsson who founded the movement in June of last year (when he and his wife were the only members) recently discussed its principles and activities with me while he was visiting Oslo.

The movement is founded on four principles:

1. Human rights are the same for all;
2. Everyone is one's countrymen, and therefore should take no part in war or war preparations against one's countrymen;
3. All are responsible for everyone's freedom including freedom from need and freedom from fear;
4. People should co-operate to build a democratic world community.

ACTION

All of the Swedish world citizens refuse military service.

Inge Oscarsson in 1947 had no contact with other pacifists and felt himself very much alone in his conviction that war was wrong.

In the army he conducted so much anti-military propaganda that he was told "Don't come back" and was sent to prison for a month.

It is possible to receive two to eight years imprisonment for such activities in the army in Sweden. Oscarsson now believes that pacifists should not enter the army at all.

There are three possible courses of action for conscientious objectors in Sweden, he told me.

1. They can do non-combatant work in the

army. "But of course the world citizens cannot accept that."

2. They can do civil work as an alternative to military duty, but then they are paid by the army.

3. They can refuse all such jobs and go to prison.

In Sweden, he told me, such a person first receives a sentence of one month, is released, and then is sentenced to two months. After release he is sentenced to three months, and finally four. This procedure may be dragged out over two years.

Work for peace must have both its positive and negative aspects, Oscarsson declared. The negative side consists of refusal to enter the army or to work in war factories. The positive side consists of building up economic conditions throughout the world, relieving suffering and finding methods of defence without violence.

It was impossible, he said, that Sweden's military forces could successfully fight against Russia's armed might.

Referring to Sweden's profits from arms industries during World War II, he soberly commented, "It is not so nice to get money because other people were killed."

A peace organisation was needed in Sweden for people who are not in the churches, he said. "Everyone should have a place in the world citizens' movement."

During the past summer the world citizens, spear-headed by Inge Oscarsson and his wife held 80 outdoor and indoor meetings in 40 cities. They would parade with placards and loud speaker in an automobile, and hold two meetings every evening. There are now about 400 world citizens, about 25% of whom are active. There are local groups which can be relied

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Each week a public meeting is held in Stockholm. This is preceded by four hours of parading with placards. Oscarsson speaks for an hour, followed by three or four hours of discussion.

Last September at the changing of the King's Guard, four world citizens, a woman and three men, walked up to the Captain of the Guard and presented him with a spade as a symbol of the constructive alternative to the military way.

The four were arrested and fined 300 Swedish kroner which they refused to pay. They are still subject to possible imprisonment for that venture.

The pacifist world citizens have established it as a general practice to walk irregularly carrying spades behind the regular Sunday military parades in Stockholm. Twenty have planned to do so in Uppsala, behind 7,000 soldiers.

"We want to let the young boys know that there is a peace organisation," Oscarsson said.

5,000

Young men refusing military service would be prepared to fight without violence to defend their country and to volunteer for service in other parts of the world.

The world citizens plan to ask the Swedish Government to finance such work.

The world citizens of Sweden have already grown from two to 400. Oscarsson believes that by 1958 1,000 can be enrolled, by 1959 3,000, and by 1960 the total can be 5,000.

The Swedish world citizens address is c/o Inge Oscarsson, Nimrodsg. 23, Hjorthagen, Stockholm, Sweden.

The world citizens group is considering affiliation with the War Resisters' International. They are hopeful that in 1960, if they have succeeded in enrolling 5,000 to refuse military duty, that an international demonstration can be organised with the co-operation of the WRI.

Chastened jingoes

THE British Government has decided not to contest the terms proposed by the Egyptian Government for the passage of shipping through the Suez Canal.

Although the French Government demurs, it seems likely that the canal users on the whole will be likely to follow Britain's lead.

The terms are based on an Egyptian declaration of adherence to the 1888 Convention governing the matter and are of a type upon which Britain and the other canal users could have conducted negotiations eight months ago.

There may be future negotiations regarding the Canal, of course. That is inherent in all commercial relationships and applies no more now than it would have applied if the British Government had refrained from entering upon its sabre-rattling campaign of last Autumn, and from later utilising the troop concentrations that had been made as part of that campaign when they decided that they had found a suitable pretext for aggression.

Britain has suffered economic loss therefore through its warlike preparations, through its attempt to impose its will on the Egyptian Government by aggressive war, and through the closing of the Canal, to say nothing of the subsequent loss through the direction of British shipping not to use the Canal.

With France, Britain has also been responsible for causing substantial loss to other nations which, although not such heavy users of the Canal as Britain, nevertheless used it in a considerable proportion of their overseas trade.

It may be hoped that what has happened will prove a salutary lesson to those who look back wistfully to the days when Britain settled its disagreements with small peoples by a "strong" policy. The Government of Colonel Nasser is not of a type that can inspire much admiration, but the methods chosen by France and Britain for dealing with it were even less admirable.

Stalinist control

THE Easter Congress of the British Communist Party has left the unrepentant Stalinists firmly in control. There have been some changes in the national executive but none that have not had the prior approval of those who have been directing the affairs of the Party during the period of de-Stalinisation, re-Stalinisation and the attack on Hungary.

Mr. William Wainwright is one of the new members of the executive. He was formerly Secretary of the British Peace Committee,



had a good deal of knowledge of what was behind the horrors of Stalinism in the 1930s, it is really asking too much to expect us to believe that people like him had no idea of what was really happening.

Fundamentally the conception upon which Communist organisation is based is not susceptible of revision. It must be either accepted or abandoned. Those who can now perceive where it leads should abandon it.

H-test hazards

WE are grateful to Stuart Morris for the matter he raises in his letter on page six.

It may be, as he urges, that our reporter's presentation of this material was a trifle one-sided; indeed, we are prepared to accept that as between the contending views expressed by qualified and reputable scientists we have not been able to present a balanced survey of the conflicting testimony.

What we have been trying to emphasise in this matter is that the ability of scientists to produce nuclear weapons is far ahead of the capacity of scientists (and particularly of biologists) to assess the consequences that follow for the human race (and to animal life for that matter) on this planet.

We do not believe, therefore, that the question with which we are faced is to

estimate the respective weights of the two conflicting bodies of testimony; and Peace News is not, of course, in a position to make such an estimate. It is the fact that there is disagreement among the people who are competent to express a view that we regard as of outstanding importance when the future of unborn generations is at stake.

The plain fact is that there is not yet sufficient medical and biological knowledge to make us aware of what will be the future consequences of nuclear explosions, either as tests or as acts of war; and of the knowledge that is available, not all is permitted to be brought to public notice. As Mr. Max Freedman has commented in the Manchester Guardian on this subject: "A wall of secrecy shuts out the public from full knowledge of the factors upon which the (US) Atomic Energy Commission bases its determinations. The public is asked to take on faith the assurances that the fall-out from past and present nuclear tests will not constitute a hazard to health."

We confess that we do not possess that faith.

With regard to Stuart Morris's concluding comment we do not believe there is any serious disagreement in the whole pacifist movement; but we do not all express ourselves in the same way, and we are not all able always to grasp what others among us are saying. We must try by the candid discussion of these things to remedy this.

... and now into Czech

We oppose any preparation or participation in war. We will not allow ourselves to be part of this great evil force... To take up arms of any kind would be for any human being to actually destroy himself.

LAST February I reported here that the Peace Message (quoted above) of the Hopi Indians of the USA was being translated into German and Spanish following publication in the Christmas Number of Peace News.

Now I learn from Prague that the German translation has been translated into the Czech language. "I have given some copies away," writes

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PEACE NEWS

May 3, 1957

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MR. BULGANIN'S LETTER

THE few people who will have taken the trouble to read through Mr. Bulganin's letter to Mr. Macmillan of April 20 cannot but be struck by its temperate tone and the note of grave concern that runs through it.

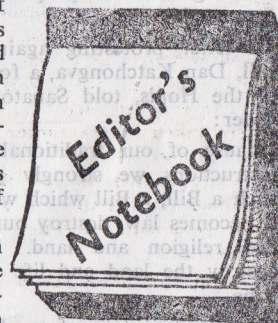
His letter follows the cavalier rejection by the leading Governments of the Western bloc of the Russian proposals for co-operation by all the Powers in regard to the Middle East.

These proposals provided for the non-interference by all the Powers in the domestic policies of the Middle East countries, and respect for their sovereignty; the abandonment of attempts to involve them in either of the contending bloc structures; the cessation of deliveries of arms by the Powers to the Governments of the States within the Middle East area; and, most important of all, co-operation in economic development in assistance of the peoples of these areas, without the attachment of any terms that would compromise their independence.

We remarked at the time that these proposals were made that they should clearly be discussed, and that if the discussions started from an examination of the possibilities of the suggested co-operation, the other matters would fall into a subordinate place and would become more easy of settlement; and that sincere discussion on this basis might provide a most important turning point in international relationships.

The Western Powers have rejected this opportunity and it is easy to see why. Despite the enormous publicity that has been given by the Western Press to the supply of arms by Eastern bloc Governments in this area the Western Powers have a much stronger military foothold here, including the establishment of bases, and they are not prepared to abandon their military advantage.

Now although the Western Powers have bases in this area and Russia and



settled its disagreements with small peoples by a "strong" policy. The Government of Colonel Nasser is not of a type that can inspire much admiration, but the methods chosen by France and Britain for dealing with it were even less admirable.

Stalinist control

THE Easter Congress of the British Communist Party has left the unrepentant Stalinists firmly in control. There have been some changes in the national executive but none that have not had the prior approval of those who have been directing the affairs of the Party during the period of de-Stalinisation, re-Stalinisation and the attack on Hungary.

Mr. William Wainwright is one of the new members of the executive. He was formerly Secretary of the British Peace Committee, and is employed by the Propaganda Department of the Communist Party.

Among other decisions made at the Congress was the rejection of a proposal to ask the Russian Government to abandon H-bomb tests; and the resolve that if and when they were returned to power the Communists would re-introduce conscription if it had been abandoned.

To the critics who had been disturbed by events in Hungary and the appalling revelations made in the Khrushchov de-Stalinisation speech nothing was conceded, and in this it seems to us to be clear that those who direct the affairs of the Party were facing the consequences of its political basis more realistically than were the critics.

Communist framework

WHAT is wrong with the Communist Party conception is the subordination of every moral value to the struggle for power, and the quasi-military disciplinary framework within which, it is held, this struggle must be waged.

Just as in the waging of war between nations democracy and freedom become impossible so do they become impossible in the operations of the Communist Party. "Unity" and "democratic centralism" are merely euphemisms for the over-riding power of the central direction, and although the whole psychopathic horror of the Stalin regime is not an inevitable consequence of this, such an outgrowth through the corrupting influence of concentrated power is clearly an inherent possibility, or even probability.

Although Professor Hyman Levy has justification in charging people like Pollitt and Dutt that they must inevitably have

regard to the Middle East.

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Now although the Western Powers have bases in this area and Russia and the Russian satellites have none, the map shows very obviously that Russia has more to fear from the Western bloc bases than any of the Western Powers would have to fear from Russian bases. It is true that the Western Powers say that there is nothing for Russia to fear because these bases do not represent any aggressive intentions, but the Russians are no more likely to be impressed by this than we are by their routine assertions that they are a "peaceloving" people. As Mr. Chester Bowles has said, to understand the Russian feelings in the matter "we need only to visualise our own (US) reaction to a ring of Soviet bases stretching from Newfoundland through Bermuda, Cuba, and Mexico to Vancouver," however much the Russians were to insist that they were there without any aggressive implications.

★ ★
PEACE NEWS holds that the quickest and most realistic way to peace would be for one great nation to set the example by complete disarmament irrespective of negotiations on the subject.

If Britain would do this—and even more so if Russia or the United States were to take such a course—we believe that international relationships could be rapidly transformed to the great advantage of mankind.

Even if measures of disarmament are to be entered upon by agreement, however, they will never be brought to fruition if they do not include some element of willingness to make unilateral sacrifice. It is very apparent that the Western Government are at present "stone-walling." They calculate, probably correctly, that events in Hungary have produced a situation in which the Russian Government cannot place any reliance upon its satellite armies in the event of war. They hold, therefore, that the military balance in Europe is now tipped in favour of the West and that this is not a time to enter into agreements that are likely to facilitate arms reductions. When, that is to say, you are "negotiating from strength" you are not prepared to negotiate your strength out of the field.

There can never be a precise balance in the relationships of military strength upon which acceptable negotiations may be founded. One side or the other will inevitably have to make a greater sacrifice of temporary advantage if any agreement that will relieve the growing strain upon the peoples of the world is to be reached.

We believe that the succession of pronouncements that have recently been made through different channels by the Russian Government should be regarded as providing a very favourable ground for talks with a view to putting an end to the present worsening of the cold war atmosphere. It is time that our representatives began to concern themselves less about the number of words in Mr. Bulganin's communication and turned their attention to a discussion of its contents.

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"I have given some copies away," writes our friend in Prague, and also "I have read the whole message in a women's assembly of which I am a member. I shall exert myself to spread it."

Apparently there has been an exhibition in Prague showing how the American Indians live. No doubt a powerful piece of propaganda designed to show the US Government in a poor light. The US Government would do well to remember that it should not trample underfoot the freedom of its oldest and most peace-loving citizens in a desire to extract the mineral wealth of tribal territory.

Into German?

EARLY copies of Peace News last week contained an unfinished sentence in my "Notebook" item about the Non-violence Bulletin. I had wanted to announce that the possibility of a German language edition is being explored, but the printers thought otherwise.

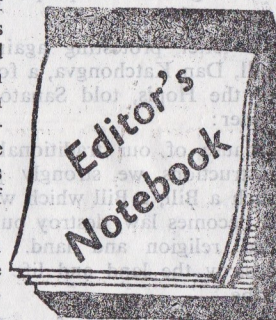
Government post

THOSE readers who remember American Negro Bill Sutherland, one of the four War Resisters' League members who attempted a cycle ride to Moscow some years ago, will be interested to know that he has a new post in Ghana.

Bill went out to what was then the Gold Coast in 1953 to start up a section of the War Resisters' International (Peace News had to keep quiet about it at the time).

Having established a section he commenced teaching the principles of non-violence at a training centre outside Accra.

Now I hear that he has been given a Government post as secretary to the Finance Minister.



MY TALK WITH MAKARIOS

Young Quakers' new appeal

Young Quakers in Britain have distributed the small poster shown below to all who will help in their "War on Want" campaign. "We are all only too aware," a member of the Young Friends Central Committee, Frank Lees, told Peace News, "that far more important than efforts like our own, are moves to give poorer countries equitable and stable prices for their commodities and so on—but we do think our method is a suitable one for interesting young people who will soon vote on the wider political issues."

WAR ON WANT

May 8th

Will you give this day's earnings to help overcome world poverty?

If you are not working, will you give what you can?

THE MONEY COLLECTED WILL GO TO INTER-CHURCH AID AND UNRWA—U.N. WORK FOR MIDDLE EAST REFUGEES, and may be sent to—

J. Rutter C.A., 5, Parsons Pool, Shaftesbury. Treasurer for the War on Want Committee.

INHABITANTS LEAVE H-BOMB ISLE

From an Associated Press report quoted in the Cambridge Daily News, February 25.

SIXTY people, including 23 children, were evacuated during the week-end from Christmas Island, the mid-Pacific atoll which is to be the site of Britain's first hydrogen bomb explosion.

The evacuees, who are of mixed races, were taken in the motor ship Tulagi to the Gilbert Islands.

Only a skeleton civilian population remains on Christmas Island, including a European District Officer and key native personnel.

Bringing the

By Fenner Brockway MP

I HAVE just concluded a long and private interview with Archbishop Makarios. I cannot reveal all that he said but I am able to convey the broad lines of our conversation to readers of Peace News.

The Archbishop received me in the suite of his hotel. It is significant that the hotel used to have the name "Hotel Great Britain." Now, because of strong opposition among peoples to policy of the British Government in Cyprus it has been re-named "Hotel Little Palace."

A leading luxury street in Athens has similarly had its name changed from "Piccadilly" to "Cyprus."

The passages leading to the Archbishop's room swarmed with people wishing to see him but I had an appointment for ten in the morning and was admitted a few moments later. We sat at neighbouring chairs and conversed in complete friendship. The Archbishop was dressed in black robes and black box hat with a golden chain around his neck, ending in an enamel of Christ at his waist. His features, dark beard and bright eyes are now familiar to people in Britain, in India and in many parts of the world through photographs in the Press and interviews on television, but I did not appreciate, before meeting him, the gentleness and charm of his personality.

Negotiations

He speaks almost perfect English in a soft voice. He stumbled over two words only—"distinguished" and "motive."

My main purpose in seeing the Archbishop was to urge that he should take the initiative in proposing to the British Government that negotiations on Cyprus should begin between its representatives and himself as spokesman of the Cypriot people.

I argued that he could place the British Government on the defensive in challenging it to carry out the United Nations resolutions and that it is important that this should be done before NATO negotiations begin.

The Archbishop authorised me to say that he desired bilateral negotiations to begin as soon as possible for immediate self-government and early self-determination and would be ready to engage in them, but he asked the British Government to make a gesture of goodwill by lifting the harsh emergency resolutions, such as the imposition of the death penalty for the offence not of murder but of carrying arms.

In a gentle voice he said that further

his return to cyprus would become inevitable once negotiations began.

Gandhian way

The Archbishop commented that only in Cyprus would he be able to learn of the present desires of the people.

Our conversation was so friendly that I was able to tell the Archbishop frankly that the one issue on which he had failed to make his position clear to the British people was the reason for his refusal to denounce violence.

He replied earnestly that he desired violence to end and he hoped that it would not be renewed, but how could he repudiate men whose actions arose from a love of their country and its liberties?

When I remarked that the British Government which commits violence has no right to denounce the Archbishop for his silence and that the only people who had the right to criticise him are those who advocate the Gandhian way of resistance to injustice, he exclaimed "They are right. It is the better way."

H-bomb base

Athens is now preparing to receive a representative of NATO, Belgian Foreign Secretary Spaak, but the signs are that the Greek Government will refuse to negotiate through NATO.

Certainly it would be a crime if the island of Cyprus were handed over to NATO Powers without any consultation with its people.

Reports indicate that Cyprus is to be used as a base from which the hydrogen bomb

Ten hour meeting and half-hour traffic jam

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

FOR ten hours in Nottingham Market Place last Saturday, a Marathon Open-Air Meeting of protests against the H-bomb test was kept going by a panel of 32 different speakers.

A fresh speaker jumped on to the rostrum at approximately every fifteen minutes after the meeting, organised by Quakers in the city, had been opened at 10 a.m. by a popular local speaker; the Rev. Kenneth L. Waights, a Methodist.

There were some moving moments, as when a life-long cripple, a Quaker, Erik Hutchinson, gave his contribution from a wheel-chair and the hecklers remained silent.

"It was notable that twelve of the speakers had never spoken out-of-doors before, a few never in public before, yet their contributions were of a high order," Peace News was told afterwards by Pennant G. Phillips, a Nottingham Quaker, who with Norman Iles, of the Peace Pledge Union, shared the chairmanship of the day-long meeting.

Man for Hiroshima

Speakers came from Baptist, Methodist and Congregational churches, from Labour and Liberal Parties, Young Co-operators, United Nations Association, the Peace Pledge Union, the Crusade for World Government, the Trades Council, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in addition to a number of local Quakers and schoolteachers.

Two men, passers-by, offered their services and gave excellent talks. One, an Australian, had been in Hiroshima only four weeks previously.

Although a 32-car poster parade jammed traffic in the Market Square for half an hour, the city police were most co-operative and received the well-deserved thanks of the organisers.

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Only a skeleton civilian population remains on Christmas Island, including a European District Officer and key native personnel.

Bringing the races together

These photographs were taken in Lusaka during a fact finding tour undertaken by James Johnson, MP (Labour, Rugby), at the request of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress and previously reported in Peace News, April 5.

himself as spokesman for the Cypriot people. I argued that he could place the British Government on the defensive in challenging it to carry out the United Nations resolutions and that it is important that this should be done before NATO negotiations begin.

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In a gentle voice he said that further executions will create a bitterness in Cyprus which it will be difficult to restrain. The Archbishop also asked that he should be allowed to return to Cyprus.

I told him that many of us in Britain regarded it as an outrage that any man should be deported from his land and people by an alien dictatorship, but that I thought

no right to denounce the Archbishop for his silence and that the only people who had the right to criticise him are those who advocate the Gandhian way of resistance to injustice, he exclaimed "They are right. It is the better way."

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Reports indicate that Cyprus is to be used as a base from which the hydrogen bomb would be despatched in the event of world war. One consequence would be inevitable! Cyprus would be annihilated by quick retort. Archbishop Makarios should have the support of everyone who loves freedom and practises democracy in resisting that fate for his people.

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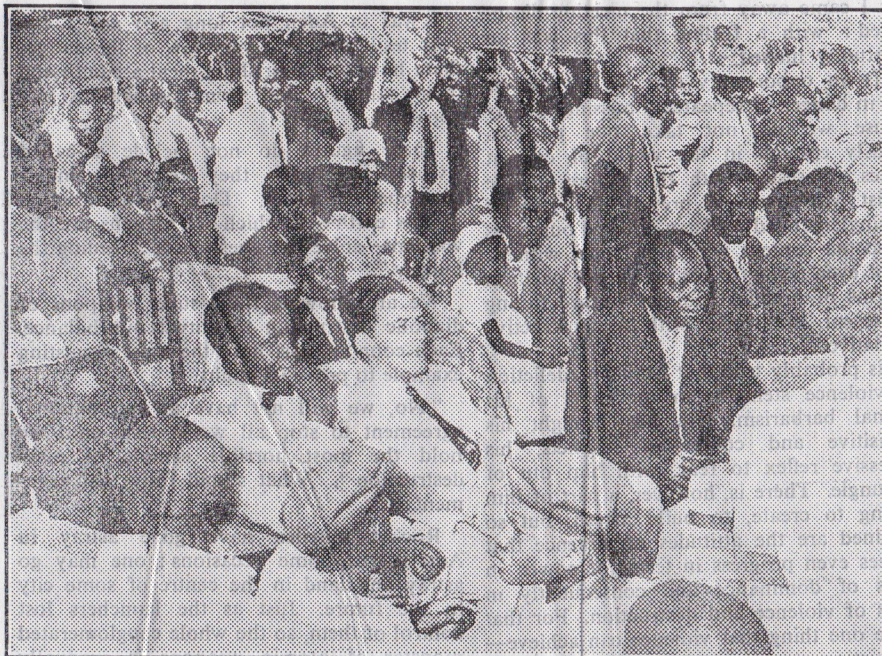
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The week-end of demonstrations culminated with a final public meeting addressed by Mr. K. Zilliacus, MP, and the Rev. Kenneth Waights on the Sunday evening.

"The total of signatures to the petition is not complete, but so far we have accumulated nearly 4,000," said Pennant Phillips.



At an open-air meeting of the African National Congress

James Johnson, MP, addressed a large meeting of Congress in the Kabwata compound, Lusaka. Here the MP from Britain listens to an African speaker. On Johnson's right is Kenneth Kaunda, the Secretary-General, who rode over one thousand miles on a bicycle to acquaint villagers with Congress policy. On Mr. Johnson's left is Harry Nkumbula, the London-educated President of Congress.



At the Northern Rhodesia Multi-racial Club

Mr. Johnson held a question-and-answer session at the club, which today has nearly 400 members. It was here that he met Alick Nkata, the celebrated African musician and singer who has become a top-ranking recording star in Central Africa. From left to right: Father Walsh (secretary of the club), Alick Nkata, Mrs. Gloria Hitchcock and Bob Hitchcock, a journalist working in Rhodesia.

Elstree Studios, Lusaka

"Soviet Union and Socialism"

YOUR reviewer (March 29) is, of course, entitled to his views about my book, *THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALISM*, and I only write because at some points he seems to be overlooking the facts.

Nowhere do I say or imply that "the West launched Hitler against Russia": what I point out (pp. 37, 43-4) is that it tried hard to do so—as many anti-Communists have testified—and that the USSR took this into account.

On the Hungarian events of last autumn, I refer specifically to the "mass protests" and "mass dissatisfaction" (pp. 86-7) which were taken advantage of by the counter-revolutionaries, supported by USA agencies.

It is quite contrary to historical fact that "the ordinary British Socialist" of half a century ago, when he talked of Socialism, meant "merely equality"—or society "organised so as to diminish rather than to accentuate natural inequalities"—rather than abolition of private property in the means of production, which your reviewer dismisses as "the common jargon of international socialism."

It is not in JUSTICE, or Blatchford's MERRIE ENGLAND, or the Socialist poems of Bruce Glasier and William Morris, or Fred Henderson's *THE CASE OF SOCIALISM* (a span from 1884 to 1911) that he will find justification for this purely Liberal "jargon"—as I show in my book (chapter I).

Russia certainly has a ruling class—the

Letters to the Editor

working class. I thought I had shown that clearly, and accept your reviewer's rebuke if I haven't done so.—ANDREW ROTHSTEIN.

Frank Lees writes: *Referring to the West's attitude to Russia Mr. Rothstein speaks of "a viciously hostile capitalist world which first tried direct armed assault (1917-20), then starving the country out (1921-22) . . . then turning Hitler eastwards and Japan westwards . . ." While some circles would have liked to have done this, inciting Hitler against Russia was not deliberate Western policy. Anyone who did this and then guaranteed Poland's independence would be a bit soft. The accusation is a strange one in view of Russia's obvious desire, expressed in its diplomacy, to let Hitler and the West fight it out.*

I referred to the ordinary British socialist, not the writers. But in any case, there is no argument that these writers wanted abolition of private property in the means of production. Of course they did. But why?

It is unfortunate that the word "not" was omitted from the first sentence of my last paragraph which should read "What Mr. Rothstein fails to show is that Russia also has not a ruling class." However, it is immaterial whether we regard the ruling class as being absent or the whole people as being that class. My point was that there are at

least two classes in Russia and that one rules the other. If I am wrong, then I am bound to conclude that the Hungarian bloodbath was the will of the Russian people also.

H-bomb tests

I HAVE always hoped that although the ordinary Press is apt to angle the news to suit its own purpose, Peace News could be relied on to present an accurate picture, but the way in which you have been featuring the subject of H-bomb tests has caused me to doubt this.

In particular, I would mention the reference to the report of a committee of the Council of Atomic Scientists Association by "Peace News Reporter." His treatment of it suggests that he has not read the report but is content to copy comments from the Manchester Guardian. What he omitted was the very important estimate that by 1970 radio-activity from tests so far carried out will deliver between nine per cent and 45 per cent of the dose of total radio-activity that the cells will have received from natural and other sources. Nor have I seen any reference in Peace News to the wide area of disagreement on the danger of exposure to radiation which has been reported to the recent meeting of the United Nations Scientific Committee.

By calling attention to these points I would emphasise the view that it may be very misleading to support a campaign on evidence which is being disputed, and on an argument about radiation hazards which completely ignores the risk to which the human race has for years been subject. If these ordinary hazards exceed the additional hazards of the tests by anything between 55 per cent to 91 per cent, why a campaign against H-bomb tests on these grounds? Why not a campaign to restrict the use of radiation altogether for medical and industrial purposes?

Surely, pacifists would be better employed in campaigning for unilateral disarmament on the unassailable ground that nuclear weapons are immoral, and that war itself is the crime against humanity past, present and future.—STUART MORRIS, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

[This letter is referred to on page 4.—Ed. PN.]

"Challenge to pacifism"

THE public meeting addressed by Dr. Niemoller and others at Friends' House on March 26 was a rousing success and all pacifists who attended must have been

"It will not do just to spread the knowledge that war and violence will never succeed, will never change anything in this world for the better . . ."

"Pacifism in our day must dig deeper than hitherto and must lay its foundations on solid ground."

We are in danger of deceiving ourselves as well as failing mankind if we are content to show the fallacy, even the wrongness, of violence and go no further.

With merely a personal witness against war as our aim it is possible without realising it to accept those attitudes and values of our society that are based on violence. But once project our personal Pacifism into a social policy and consider the practical consequences and we are immediately confronted with our inconsistencies. Not only must we free the slave and feed the starving, but we find we can no longer seek to dominate: "... as sons of God (we must) learn to serve each other for the better."

Just how far are we willing to go: how much national sovereignty are we willing to yield? How do we intend to help and share the oppression of those that are and will be down-trodden? What are our constructive answers to the threat of violence? We may be able to reply in personal terms immediately, but have we honestly considered what to say in terms of practical politics? The answers are there and for the first time many people are willing to listen to them if they can but be co-ordinated. Our platform, however, provided only a piecemeal hint at some of them, and like the rest of us filled in the blanks with personal witness.

We are all too vague and uncertain of what our pacifism means in terms of present-day politics. If it were merely modesty it would matter little, but in fact we are failing to face the Challenge of Our Own Pacifism.—CLIVE GODDARD, London, W.C.1.

Stupid folly

THE crofters of Uist who have already limited fertile land to provide the means of livelihood for the inhabitants, must witness part of that earth being confiscated by the War Office in far away (to them) London to provide a rocket range which will earmark Uist as an H-bomb target should another life-wasting war be launched.

Throughout the world scientists are worried that immense fertile land is going to waste through natural causes. The United States, in particular, faces this tragic problem, but uppermost in the minds of the war lords and their political toadies are war

S. African arrests: to provoke the masses**PEACE NEWS REPORTER**

SOUTH AFRICANS today "have the fears of the freedom loving people in the blackest years in Europe," declared Rabbi Unger from a multi-racial platform on South African problems held at Friends House, London, recently. The meeting was sponsored by the South African Legal Defence Fund.

He charged that the arrests of the 150 leaders in South Africa and the resulting treason trials had been made to intimidate the people. The Government hopes to smear the names of the men and women who oppose "the dreadful trend of events in South Africa," he said.

world has not witnessed for many years."

Solly Sachs, former South African trade union leader, declared that the three main principles of the new Industrial Conciliation Act which came into operation in South Africa on January 1 were:

(1) Trade unions (white, coloured or black) will be controlled even in detailed matters by the Minister of Labour,

(2) It is an offence for white and coloured people to belong to the same union, and

(3) The Minister of Labour will have the power to exclude any Africans or coloured people from any industry or occupation at any time.

Referring to the recent peaceful bus boycott

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DECAY OF RELIGION

"The main purpose of these arrests was to provoke the masses into premature and hasty violence and if any pretext was provided by it, to clamp down by police and military action."

The African National Congress leaders, however, had told the people that drastic action would play into the hands of the Government.

"What is happening to the non-European majority of South Africa is very sad and very tragic," declared Rabbi Unger who had recently visited the country, but it is not nearly so terrible as that which "is happening to the minds and spirit of the White man, who is slipping into a decay of religion, morals and ethics that the

Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Radhakrishnan have accepted Congress Party's nomination to stand for the second term as the President and Vice-President of India.

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London, W.C.1

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(2) It is an offence for white and coloured people to belong to the same union, and

(3) The Minister of Labour will have the power to exclude any Africans or coloured people from any industry or occupation at any time.

Referring to the recent peaceful bus boycott in South Africa, Mr. Sachs declared that "the result of this dignified protest of 150,000 Africans has been a terrific echo among those who wanted to make them slaves."

"The people in South Africa wanted to build up a vast slave camp and a vast slave-State, but they are beginning to realise that it is time to call a halt to the oppression of the Africans."

MARCH OF AFRICAN WOMEN

Daisy Makiwane declared that in 1956 African women were becoming firmer in the struggle for freedom. "In an active way African women distinguished themselves by not carrying passes. They revolted against the system of passes and marched into Pretoria to show their solidarity."

"In the bus boycotts, the women have taken a very prominent part and hundreds of women have been arrested, leaving their families behind. Women should play a more prominent part, otherwise they are supporting a society of masters and slaves."

She movingly described a demonstration in which "thousands gathered in silent protest in the amphitheatre where the members of the Government could view it."

Mr. H. Naidoo, former organiser of the sugar workers of Natal, said that "The African National Congress and the Trade Union Congress have saved South Africa from a lot of violence."

"In spite of every attempt on the part of the Nationalist movement to regard these Congresses as 'subversive' it is because of these organisations that you do not find in South Africa the violence you find in other parts of the world."

"It is not for the non-Europeans we feel most sorry, it is for the Europeans."

Why not a campaign to restrict the use of radiation altogether for medical and industrial purposes?

Surely, pacifists would be better employed in campaigning for unilateral disarmament on the unassailable ground that nuclear weapons are immoral, and that war itself is the crime against humanity past, present and future.—**STUART MORRIS, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.**

[This letter is referred to on page 4.—Ed. PN.]

"Challenge to pacifism"

THE public meeting addressed by Dr. Niemöller and others at Friends' House on March 26 was a rousing success and all pacifists who attended must have felt a boost to their morale after listening to such an eminent and thoughtful platform.

The meeting has come at a time when the full horror of war with the H-bomb is slowly penetrating the public mind, even if dimmed by incessant propaganda, and the more imaginative among public men are willing to consider the pacifist case seriously. For this reason perhaps more than any other I came away from the meeting disappointed: with a feeling that this was an opportunity missed.

It is an opportunity that we as pacifists seem in danger of repeatedly missing, simply because we do not take our pacifism seriously enough in the world of current politics. Obsessed with the failure of the Pacifist Movement to prevent the 1939-45 war single-handed we have allowed ourselves to become content with a personal witness. In not even trying to formulate our pacifism in terms of practical politics we are failing to present the world with a constructive alternative.

It is probably true that Man's predilection for violence stems from the roots of his original barbarism. He has brought his acquisitive and competing instincts, his aggressive reflex to fear, with him out of the jungle. There is, however, a part of him craving to create, to build afresh, but so ingrained are the attitudes of violence that he sees even progress in terms of power, in terms of dominance and consequently in terms of violence and destruction. For that is the one thing that violence can achieve—destruction.

Pacifists reject all this. They see the fallacy of trying to build with the attitudes of violence; they proclaim the immorality of "progress" built on the destruction of others. But, in the words of Pastor Niemöller:

Pacifism.—**CLIVE GODDARD, London, W.C.1.**

Stupid folly

THE crofters of Uist who have already limited fertile land to provide the means of livelihood for the inhabitants, must witness part of that earth being confiscated by the War Office in far away (to them) London to provide a rocket range which will earmark Uist as an H-bomb target should another life-wasting war be launched.

Throughout the world scientists are worried that immense fertile land is going to waste through natural causes. The United States, in particular, faces this tragic problem, but uppermost in the minds of the war lords and their political toadies are war weapon tests. Not the conserving and improving of arable land, but the destruction of it with H-bomb, A-bomb and rocket tests.

The United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), states that 600,000,000 children lack adequate food, clothing, shelter and protection against disease.

I was in Aden not long ago and I can bear testimony that very few of the natives there have one nourishing meal a month and their sanitary and home conditions are appalling.

These figures do not include so-called civilised countries, they refer to underdeveloped countries. Does the destruction of this earth—of which we humans are the wardens—solve the question of "feeding the hungry"?

We are allowing these super weapons of diabolic destruction to outwit our balance. Each country must have the most disgusting example to prove its might.

"No, we will not have an international agreement to stop all world tests until we hold the most horrible sample of mass destruction". What stupid folly that argument is.

Rocket missiles have gone astray in America on some occasions; one may go astray and land in the centre of some city in the future. Just as the launchers lost control of them, so the whole conglomerated monster of atomic weapons is gradually taking control of these people who are obsessed in developing them.

Japanese fishermen, Australian Aborigines and Uist crofters are the immediate victims. It will be our turn shortly unless we wake up.—**PAT MURPHY, Cardiff.**

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. 11 a.m.
2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Thursday, Friday, Saturday, May 2, 3 and 4

LANCASTER: 10.30 a.m. to 8 p.m. Lecture Room, Public Library. Exhibition, "Atomic War or Peace". Photos and Films. SoF.

Friday, May 3

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., 300 Gloucester Rd. Swami Avyaktananda of the Vedanta Movement, Bath, "Faiths and Fellowship." All welcome, adm. free. Fellowship of the Friends of Truth.

CROYDON: 8 p.m.: West Croydon Methodist Church Hall, London Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m.: Bowes Pk. Methodist Church. Hugh Brock, Editor of "Peace News," Adventures in Journalism. MPF.

Saturday, May 4

EPSOM: 3 p.m.: Clock Tower, High St. Poster Parade to advertise May 22 mtg. H-bomb leaflet distribution. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.: 6 Endsleigh Street, Mrs. Inge Hyde, "Population and Peace." Visitors welcome. PPU Religion Commission.

LONDON, W.C.1: 2 p.m.: Kingsway Hall. Second Anl. Conference of Fellowship Party. Fraternal delegates from Dutch Socialist Pacifist Party, Common Wealth and Christian Party. 5.30-7.45 p.m.: Pacifist Policy Discussion, Chairman, John Loverseed, 8-9 p.m.: Pacifist Parliamentary Candidates state their case. John Loverseed, Albert Leaper, Ronald Mallone, Robert Trafford. Fellowship Party.

MANCHESTER: 2.30 p.m.: "Stop H-bomb Tests" Poster Parade. Start Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St., Manchester. Details from Lionel Cowan, 59 Cecil Rd., Hale, Altrincham, Cheshire. United Peace Fellowship.

SOUTHEND: 4 p.m.: Starting opposite All Saints' Church, Southchurch Rd., followed by Open Air Mtg. "Stop H-bomb Tests" Poster Parade. Visitors join in! Southend Peace Council.

Sunday May 5

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.: 29 Gt. James St. Antony Bates, "The Word and its Shadow." New group: enquiries to Antony Bates, Flat 5, Lauriston Ho., Birkley Pk. Rd., Birkley, Kent.

Monday, May 6

CROYDON: 8 p.m.: Thornton Heath Congregational Church Hall, Bensham Manor Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." FoR.

EAST GRINSTEAD: 8 p.m.: Oak Room, Whitehall. "Any Questions?" with Hilda Von Klenze, Stuart Morris, Philip Millwood, Question-master Rev. G. Cockett. PPU, FoR, SoF.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.: Public Mtg. on "Stop H-bomb Tests." Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St., Manchester. Details as for May 4 Poster Parade. United Peace Fellowship.

Tuesday, May 7

MANCHESTER: 7 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. H. Rees Jones, "What Now?—Future Action." Visitors welcome. FoR.

PETERBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m.: Keeton Rd. School. Election Rally. Robert Trafford, BA (Fellowship Party Candidate for Peterborough on May 9), John Loverseed, AFC. "The Pacifist Case against Nuclear War and For Local Government." Fellowship Party.

Wednesday, May 8

BELFAST: Friends Mtg. Ho., Frederick St. "Is Peace Possible?" Any Questions Panel. Minnie Pallister, Geoffrey Carnall, Councillor W. R. Boyd, D. C. Williams, Chair., D. G. Neill SoF.

Thursday, May 9

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Park

Women's struggle for the vote ended in VICTORY OF A MINORITY

Sybil Morrison reviews

Votes for Women, by Roger Fulford, London, Faber and Faber, 25s.

TO the youth of 1957 it must seem very strange that so short a time ago as forty-five years, the idea of women having the right to vote was so strongly opposed by all parties inside and outside of the House of Commons that extreme violence on the part of the police to those women who used militancy as a political weapon, long sentences, and forcible feeding, were applauded and supported on all sides.

Roger Fulford's book gives a faithful and very readable account of the long struggle for women's liberation from the conception of their role in life as either scullions, ministering angels, or men's chattels, which began many many years before militancy brought it to the notice of the public.



But despite the authors genuine attempt at an objective approach his own lack of sympathy to the cause tends to reveal itself; and this is a pity, for it makes him write in slightly derogatory terms of these "ladies" or "worthies" (as he often calls them), and leads to conclusions as to the efficacy of militancy which could well be questioned.

There would be few, even among those suffragists who deplored militancy, who would be prepared to argue, as he does, that it set back the cause by years; if politicians believed it right to give women the vote, and did not do so out of annoyance with the militants, that would not be saying very much for the integrity of such statesmen.

He remarks that the opinion, then strongly held, that unless women could fight they should not vote was "a weightier and more sensible argument than many that were used." It would be interesting to know whether those who argued from that premise would reverse it now, and contend that those who have no vote should not be required to fight!



The major part of the book deals with the militant struggle, and the impression of militancy that is given, is one of violence for the sake of violence, of hysterical and cranky women, of passion and emotion divorced from reason.

All movements have their lunatic fringes, but none of us would like our causes to be judged on the words and actions of such people alone.

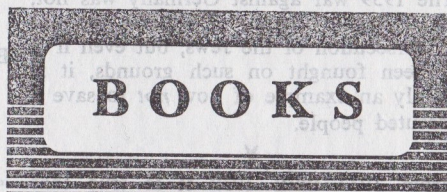
Labour's policies in nuclear age

GEOFFREY CARNALL reviews

Fabian International Essays, Edited by T. E. M. McKitterick and Kenneth Younger, London, The Hogarth Press, 18s. Reviewed by Geoffrey Carnall.

FOUR of the seven essays here collected are by Labour MPs, of whom three are ex-Ministers, and the fourth, Mr. Denis Healey.

This gives one a fair idea of the temper of the book, which is, as Mr. Gaitskell says in his preface, "objective and realistic". That is to say, the thinking done in it is controlled by the assumptions on which



governments act.

It is an exploration of the kind of policies a Labour Government might pursue in this period of nuclear stalemate and competitive co-existence.

To some extent pacifists should be encouraged by the direction of thinking shown in this book. There is a pleasant monotony in the repeated insistence on the folly of considering international influence in rigidly military terms.

As Dr. Balogh puts it, nuclear weapons have endowed economic policies with entirely novel significance as a means of maintaining peace. (It is to be hoped that his complaint about the lack of coherent planning in the Sterling Area has been noted by the responsible Labour men who will presumably read this book.)



Other writers bring out the fact

May 3, 1957—PEACE NEWS—7

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Thursday, May 9

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Charles Dingle, "An evening with Beethoven". PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St. Sybil Morrison, "Collective Pacifism". PYAG.

Friday, May 10

GRAVESEND AND NORTHFLEET: 8 p.m.; The Manse, Denchm Rd., Northfleet. Formation of new For group.

Sunday, May 12

ABERDEEN: 7.45 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 97 Crown St. Report, AGM of PPU. For and PPU.

Tuesday, May 14

LEIGH, LANCs: 7.45 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 78 The Avenue. Public Meeting. Rev. W. Pelz. For.

Thursday, May 16

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., Dennis Lovelace of the Council for War on Want. PYAG.

Wednesday, May 22

EPSOM: 8 p.m.; Red Cross Hall, 117 East St. (near Baths). H-bomb protest mtg. John Loversed, AFC, C. D., Legon, BA. Speeches, followed by questions and discussions. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

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BURY LANCs: A. H. Spring, 30 Wellington Rd.
BIRMINGHAM, 13: P. J. Renwick, 65a Trafalgar Rd., Moseley.

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PORTSMOUTH: Roger Rawlinson, 67 Hollam Rd., Milton, Southsea.

LONDON, N.W.11: Miss Ethel Galler, 54 Lichfield Way.

RISTOL: Mrs. Lillian M. Dunning, 20 Glenwood Rd., Henleaze, Bristol.

SWANSEA: Mrs. Dale, Friends Meeting House, High St.

EXMOUTH/EXETER: Mrs. D. Hawkin, 3 Treefustis ee, Exmouth.

Details from The Manager, Peace News
3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

more serious argument than many that were used." It would be interesting to know whether those who argued from that premise would reverse it now, and contend that those who have no vote should not be required to fight!

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All movements have their lunatic fringes, but none of us would like our causes to be judged on the words and actions of such people alone.

The fight was not, of course, non-violent, though many militants were devoted pacifists in regard to war; nevertheless other minority movements might well learn a lesson from the singleness of purpose, the willingness to suffer, to give up everything, even life itself, that inspired those who made the struggle for the vote their cause.

One great debt, at least, is owed to the author for his successful explosion of that long held fallacy that women were given the vote as a reward for their services in World War I.

For those who know nothing of this long drawn out and extraordinary struggle for so simple an act of justice as the right of representation, the book is invaluable; for those who do know something of it, there may be cause for some irritation and annoyance, but, nevertheless, here is a book with a happy ending—the history of a minority movement that won!

HELP FOR REFUGEES

JOHN BARCLAY, secretary of the International Help for Children recently spoke to the Tottenham and Edmonton Peace Pledge Union Group of his return visit to the Hamburg refugee camps and the work of his organisation. Children brought from appalling refu-

lescent home in Surrey and where necessary are later given hospital treatment.

To some extent pacifists should be encouraged by the direction of thinking shown in this book. There is a pleasant monotony in the repeated insistence on the folly of considering international influence in rigidly military terms.

As Dr. Balogh puts it, nuclear weapons have endowed economic policies with entirely novel significance as a means of maintaining peace. (It is to be hoped that his complaint about the lack of coherent planning in the Sterling Area has been noted by the responsible Labour men who will presumably read this book.)

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Other writers bring out the fact, now widely recognised, of course, that it is against Britain's interests to try to bring as many "uncommitted" countries as possible into a direct alliance with the West. Pacifists will certainly not be encouraged by Mr. Strachey's paper on defence policy. It shows how difficult it is to come to terms with the situation created by a nuclear stalemate if one views it from a purely military point of view. Even on the assumptions of the other contributors, it seems untrue to say that the "capacity to hold one's own in the contemporary world must largely depend on the capacity to deter a potential assailant."

For the general reader the most valuable essay in the collection is the excellent account of the recent history of the Middle East contributed by Mr. T. E. M. McKitterick.

Although written before the Suez trouble began, his analysis and recommendations are not invalidated one jot.

The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests has sent a second protest against tests to the Russian Government.

Five men now form a rota for the Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors at Fulham, London. The Tribunal sits with four members and the Chairman, Sir Gerald Hargreaves. Those forming the rota are Mr. Tudor-Davies, Mr. Little, Mr. Bradshaw, Professor James, and the new member, Mr. Howarth.

Members of the public who wish to listen to applicants appearing before the London Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors are allowed into the public gallery of the Council Chamber at Fulham Town Hall, when the Tribunal sits. Usually this is fortnightly, and the next session will be on May 3. Listening to the cases of other COs is especially beneficial to young men who are thinking of taking a stand as a CO.

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THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leicester.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

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PEOPLE DOING THINGS

gee camps for holidays in Britain return with new clothes provided by their hosts and with a knowledge of cleanliness that may well permeate their families.

Visiting children go first to a conva-

LORD MAYOR

★ FROM
PAGE ONE

to civil disobedience during the Suez dispute were warmly endorsed.

The General Secretary's report recalled that "not being a political party, the PPU has never required a political programme, but in company with other pacifist organisations it has accepted as its policy the total disarmament of Britain, which is the logical extension to the nation of the individual pledge to renounce war."

Debates on two policy resolutions showed, said Harold Bing, Chairman of the War Resisters' International, "a good deal of agreement among us all, the difficulty is expressing it."

MANIFESTO

After deciding not to vote on a resolution delimiting the character of the "corporate work" of PPU members the AGM voted in favour of a resolution declaring that the PPU pledge "needs expanding by the issue of a PPU Manifesto stating the positive attitude of the PPU on current international and national problems," and pledging itself "to take more active measures to gain publicity for pacifism through the Press and through other organisations and personal contacts."

Earlier Wilfred Wellock had warned the movement against "putting pacifism in a vacuum."

"To be a pacifist is to hold a principle whereby men and women can live in peace in the home, in the local community, in the nation and in the world."

"If pacifism is to preach being unarmed, we should say this must be only one aspect of standing for a peaceful world."

Sybil Morrison drew attention to the forthcoming report on the economic effects of disarmament. Called "Unarmed," this report would, she said, show that our job was calling for unilateral disarmament.

"Let the PPU membership go forward to the public under the banner 'Unarmed,'" she urged.

"The Pledge means unilateral disarmament. We do that when we take the Pledge."

THE PLEDGE

A resolution, proposed by the King's Heath and Cotteridge Group, asking the PPU National Council "to take up with the French Government the question of military service objectors in France" as a matter of urgency was passed unanimously.

Anne Belshaw, Northern Ireland, told of efforts being made to bring peace to her country. She saw little prospect of success, but said that pacifists were trying

By Sybil Morrison

ROOT OF THE EVIL

I turn eagerly to your articles because I always find questions of everyday affairs in the news dealt with in such a way that I can show it to my non-pacifist friends. I would be glad if you could tell me how to answer a Jewish friend who says: What can pacifists possibly do to save people, in a nation other than their own, from suffering persecution?

—Letter from a Reader, April 29, 1957.

THE implication of this question is clear, nevertheless I will try to deal with the principle as well as with the underlying allusion.

Hitler's persecution of the Jews horrified the civilised world; it was a fact that assumed proportions which made it seem the biggest human problem the world had known for many decades.

For centuries there have been periodical outbursts of oppression against Jews; throughout history the pogroms stand, in their unerasable blackness, to blot the record of our so-called civilisation.

But then, in that post "Great War" age, an age in which exploitation was coming to be condemned, in which a generation was growing up under the impression that their fathers had fought and suffered to make the world free of wars and tyranny, it was a staggering shock.

The 1939 war against Germany was not, in fact, waged because of Hitler's abominable persecution of the Jews, but even if it had been fought on such grounds, it is certainly an example of how *not* to save a persecuted people.

★

From 1933 until 1939 it is true that Hitler sent German Jews into exile; they were driven to leave their homes, their business and their property, and were forced out of Germany. A great number were able to bring out some of their possessions, but even so it was an outrage against humanity.

Nevertheless, it was in no way comparable with the wholesale slaughter of the gas chambers, when once war had started. Directly the nations were at war, the ruthlessness of war, the necessity for victory, prevailed. A dictator cannot afford to have a large dissenting minority even in times of peace, and in times of war even less so.

It is clear, therefore, that war with Hitler's Germany failed completely to save the Jews; that going to the rescue of Poland by means of war did nothing to save the Polish Jews from the dreadful massacre of Warsaw.

War is a gamble; it is always a mere

foreign policies would be so changed that it would be impossible for such an abnormal excrescence as Hitler to have arisen, and such a repudiation of humanity as the H-bomb to exist.

Patience and courage, endurance and selflessness, equal to any sacrifice made in war is needed if the method of war, the root of the evil, is to be eradicated. It is towards this end that pacifism slowly, but constantly and continuously, moves.

'Unarmed' by-election in East London

THE Independent Labour Party is to contest the forthcoming Parliamentary by-election at East Ham (East London) on the issue of the H-bomb.

They have chosen Bill Christopher, 33-year-old Walthamstow printer, as candidate. He is married with two daughters, aged 7 and 3.

Bill Christopher, who left the Labour Party in 1955 because of its support of the H-bomb as a deterrent, contested the Walthamstow Municipal elections in 1954 and 1955 as a Labour Party candidate.

"The ILP do not consider the Labour Party's latest resolution on the H-bomb adequate, to meet the situation," Mr. Christopher's agent, Eric Fenner, told Peace News.

"It is the manufacture of nuclear weapons we want to see ended, and as Peace News announced last week, the ILP is now pledged to unilateral disarmament by Britain as an example to the world."

"The official Labour Party policy still supports the deterrent policy, which we hold to be immoral, anti-Christian and completely futile anyway, since there is no defence against attack."

Offers of help may be sent to Eric Fenner at 14 Parkgate Rd., S.W.11 (Tel. BAT 3134).

BAPTISTS DIVIDED ON TEST

ONLY by five votes (343 to 338) was a

Trust the people?

THE Australian Prime Minister has said that the question of whether nuclear tests should continue could not be settled by referendum. The assessment of what was involved, he told a Canberra Press conference on April 29, could be made only by the most painstaking examination of extensive and involved scientific advice, much of which was of such a character that it could not be given to the public.

The people, therefore, could not be equipped to make the decision, which was one that must be made by the Government.

★

IN a letter about the H-tests to the editor of the London News Chronicle on the following day, Jane and Nicholas Malleson wrote:

"This . . . scientific habit of thinking, which conditions us always to a desire for certainty and proof before we act, is leading us to disaster. We suggest that we turn instead for once to our own inner voices, asking ourselves what we really want. The answer then for most people will be that we passionately desire health and happiness, love and procreation. These are the instincts which have preserved mankind up till now, and anything that smells remotely of a threat should be rejected."

Pacifist contests City Council

R. S. TRAFFORD is to contest a seat for Peterborough City Council as a candidate for the pacifist Fellowship Party. The election takes place on May 9.

Mr. Trafford, who tried to contest Peterborough in the General Election as an anti-H-bomb candidate is a well-known local school-teacher and Oxford graduate.

"The modern militarists will end by destroying everything unless they are stopped by the humanity and good sense of ordinary people," he declares in his election address.

He declares that "Civil Defence is a farce and a complete waste of public money." His programme includes a number of proposals for improving amenities in this old cathedral city, but "any improvement we make will be destroyed if there is another war. Therefore I hope that you will vote for the only party which is opposed to war in all circumstances."

was calling for unilateral disarmament. "Let the PPU membership go forward to the public under the banner 'Unarmed,'" she urged.

"The Pledge means unilateral disarmament. We do that when we take the Pledge."

THE PLEDGE

A resolution, proposed by the King's Heath and Coteridge Group, asking the PPU National Council "to take up with the French Government the question of military service objectors in France" as a matter of urgency was passed unanimously.

Anne Belshaw, Northern Ireland, told of efforts being made to bring peace to her country. She saw little prospect of success, but the work went on. Pacifists were trying to fix up a meeting with IRA leaders.

An address by Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale on "Problems for Pacifists," and the message to the movement from the Chairman, Michael Tippett, will be reported at length in Peace News next week.

At the close of the meeting Stuart Morris announced that plans had been made for the 21st Annual General Meeting in London on April 19 and 20, 1958.

"We have undertaken a new campaign to win adherents to the Pledge and to press for unilateral disarmament," he said. Next year's AGM would be a rallying point in the campaign.

The Large Hall at Friends House had been booked. The fares for one delegate from each group would be paid and hospitality provided, but every member would be encouraged to attend.

Book this date now. Make your plans now to send a large contingent to London on this occasion, Stuart Morris urged.

bring out some of their possessions, but even so it was an outrage against humanity.

Nevertheless, it was in no way comparable with the wholesale slaughter of the gas chambers, when once war had started. Directly the nations were at war, the ruthlessness of war, the necessity for victory, prevailed. A dictator cannot afford to have a large dissenting minority even in times of peace, and in times of war even less so.

It is clear, therefore, that war with Hitler's Germany failed completely to save the Jews; that going to the rescue of Poland by means of war did nothing to save the Polish Jews from the dreadful massacre of Warsaw.

War is a gamble; it is always a mere chance whether defeat may not be the outcome. Violence of any kind as a method of overthrowing a regime of tyranny and persecution only adds to the total sum of ruthlessness, violence and cruelty. This was evident in Russia after the massacre of the Czar and all his family.

The tragedy of being forced to watch helplessly the suffering of others is not something that can be eased by rushing into the further tragedy of war. To those who plead: "but would you just stand by?" the answer is that pacifism is not a magic panacea for removal of all evils, and pacifists in their present tiny numbers can do but little, other than try to help others, as well as themselves, to an understanding of the way of non-violence.



Organised non-violent resistance was seen lately in Hungary, and though this effort was not actuated by any pacifist motive, yet it was effective enough to make it clear how much more effective it might have been if supported by the strength of pacifist faith.

The Jews, themselves are an extraordinary example of the eternal resilience of the human spirit, and though as individuals they are not necessarily pacifist, yet, in spite of the intolerable cruelties committed against them, they have, without going to war, persisted through the centuries.

It is tragic that the advent of nationalism into their corporate life should have led them to a policy of reliance on war.

It is this policy in all nations which create the situations from which dictators and persecutors arise; a war against Germany beget Hitler, and the war against him beget the gas chambers and the nuclear weapons.

If pacifists were strong instead of only a very small minority, the whole motive of

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BAPTISTS DIVIDED ON TEST

ONLY by five votes (343 to 338) was a call to Britain to abandon her H-test defeated at the Baptist Union Assembly in London on Monday.

An official motion was carried with only two dissentients appealing to the British Government "to make renewed and urgent efforts to reach agreement with the Governments of the USA and USSR for the prohibition of the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen bombs with necessary safeguards for international inspection and control. Pending the completion of such a pact it urges the agreed cessation of all tests . . . together with a progressive reduction of all other arms."

Russell's message

● FROM PAGE ONE

A Liberal Party demonstration will be held in Trafalgar Square on May 18.

The National Council for Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests is sponsored by E. M. Forster, OM; Earl Russell, OM, FRS; Rev. Donald Soper and Prof. Barbara Wootton. It is opposed to tests everywhere and has protested against each Russian explosion.

In a message to the meeting, Bertrand Russell wrote:

"In view of the hazards involved, every large-scale nuclear explosion is a crime against humanity. It is nonsense to pretend that national safety can be secured by nuclear weapons.

"The pursuit of safety through armaments is now, more than ever before, the pursuit of an illusion. But, in any case, the pursuit of safety by such abominable means is a crime as well as a folly, and I profoundly hope that the public opinion of mankind may induce some measure of sanity in the Governments of the world."

The election takes place on May 9.

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"The modern militarists will end by destroying everything unless they are stopped by the humanity and good sense of ordinary people," he declares in his election address.

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With John Loverseed, Mr. Trafford hopes to present the Fellowship Party's petition against the H-test at the Bar of the House of Commons.

Help in his campaign will be welcomed and should be sent to his home at 200 Eastfield Rd., Peterborough.

He will be contesting the North Ward which has Labour and Conservative candidates standing. This ward had the largest Labour majority last year.

Dr. Schweitzer's H-bomb test appeal

The two pages of the full text of Dr. Schweitzer's broadcast have been reprinted and are now available as a broadsheet, post free, at

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